1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

called *Teriya*. The other division contains all the other winds, and they are collectively denoted by the term *Bilik*. They are distinguished by names, as *Ĵila Bilik* (the east *Bilik*, from *ĵila*, east) *Kọico Bilik* (the west *Bilik*), *Mẹtepur Bilik*, *Ċọliatum Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Kọičor-toŋ Bilik*. Here we find the name *Bilik* used not as the name of a single person, but as a common name for a class of beings who are the winds personified. The same use of the term is found also in the *Aka-Kọl* tribe.

Even in the *Akar-Bale* tribe something of the same kind is found. One *Akar-Bale* man said that *Puluga* has two brothers, *Ĵila Puluga* (East *Puluga*) and *Koaičo Puluga* (West *Puluga*); the one sends all the easterly winds and the other all the westerly ones.

In the Andamans the year is divided into two nearly equal portions. During the season of the south-west monsoon, which lasts from May to September, the wind blows steadily from the south-west. This is the rainy season. Violent storms never or only very rarely occur during the season of the south-west wind. From December to March the wind blows mostly from the N.N.E., occasionally changing to E.N.E. or N.E. In the periods at the change of the monsoon (from N.E. to S.W. in April and May, and from S.W. to N.E. in October and November) the wind is variable, and may blow at times from E.S.E. or W.N.W.

The south-west wind (properly speaking W.S.W.) is identified, as we have seen with *Tarai* (*Deria*). Although *Biliku* (*Puluga*) is specially connected with the north-east wind, yet all the winds other than the south-west are commonly supposed to be sent by *Biliku*. Thus we have seen that in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the different winds are named, each of them (with the exception of the south-west) being a *Bilik*.

It comes about, in this way, that the year is divided into two portions, one of which is specially connected with *Biliku* (*Puluga*), while the other is specially connected with *Tarai* (*Deria*). These two seasons are not quite of equal length. The *Tarai* season lasts only while the south-west monsoon is blowing, which, in an average year, is between four and five months. The other seven months are connected with *Biliku* and are divided into three portions, (1) the stormy season of October

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

776
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132
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776
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and November, (2) the cold season of December to February, and (3) the hot season of March and April.

There are many points relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* about which there is no general agreement amongst the tribes, or, in some cases, even within the same tribe. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is regarded as female, and is called *Mimi Biliku*, while *Tarai* is male and is called *Maia Tarai*. This is so in all the four tribes, *Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kǫra* and *Aka-J̌eru*. A statement that is frequently made by the natives of these tribes is that *Tarai* and *Biliku* are husband and wife. While this is the most common statement, there are, however, other versions of the matter. In order to show the lack of uniformity in statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* in the Northern tribes I reproduce a few extracts from my note-books written down exactly as they were given to me.

(1) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai* and they have a child named *Perǰido*. (This statement was made to me a great many times in the North Andaman, and may be regarded as the most usual form of the belief.)

(2) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are the sun and moon. (Heard only once.)

(3) The husband of *Biliku* is *Perǰido* and her children are *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*.

(4) *Biliku* is unmarried, but she has a son *Perǰido*, and her other children are *Tǫrǫi*, *Čelene*, *Čotǫt*, and *Čerei*. These four are the names of birds.

(5) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are *Tǫrǫi*, *Taka*, *Čotǫt*, *Poruatǫko*, *Kelil*, *Cǫpcura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kǫlo*. These are all names of birds.

(6) *Biliku* has a husband *Tǫrǫi* (a bird). *Tarai* has a wife *Kelil* (a bird).

In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the most common statement, at any rate in the northern part of the tribe, is that *Bilika* is female, and that *Tarai* is male. One *Aka-Kede* man, from the southern part of the tribe said that *Bilika* was male.

In the *Aka-Kǫl* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Bilik* is generally spoken of as being male, and *Teriya* is also male. Other versions from these tribes are as follǫws:—

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

804 **Weights and Measures.**—1. When speaking of their physical powers I stated that 40 lbs. is ordinarily the maximum of a man's burden; but this is, of course, only an approximate estimate, for among these savages there is no recognised standard of weights or measures, corresponding to the nail, finger-joint, thumb, span, or pace.

2. In referring to the size, shape, or weight of a small object, they would, if possible, liken it to some seed, such as that of the *Entada pursætha*, or fruit, such as mangosteen, jack-fruit, or cocoa-nut; of larger weights they would say, "as much as" or "more than one man could carry" or "lift;" for expressing capacity or quantity they would say "a bucketful," "basketful," "hand-ful," "canoe-load," as the case might be.

3. There is no prescribed or uniform size for any mat, tool, weapon, or utensil, the dimensions of each and all being dependent on the will of the maker, and on the material at his disposal.

[804] 4. No tallies are kept of numbers of articles, nor are counters such as seeds, stones, &c., employed in counting.

5. In speaking of a short distance, as, for example, 50 yards, they would compare it to "a bowshot," but in describing the distance of a certain spot it would be defined as equal to that separating two places, well known to the speaker and the person addressed; any distance over 15 miles would be said to "exceed a day's journey."

●805 **Astronomy.**—1. It has been stated by Dr. Day that the Andamanese "divide the day into three portions, sunrise, mid-day, and sunset, recognising no subdivisions;" this is, however, incorrect, for though they are naturally content with a, to us, rough method of reckoning time, there are no less than thirteen periods of the day and night distinguished by definite terms, viz.:—

wá·nyala-, the first appearance of dawn.
ela-wá·nga-, between dawn and sunrise.
bō·do-la-dō·atinga-, sunrise.[1]
lī·li-, or *dī·lma-*, from sunrise to about 7 a.m.
bō·do-la-kâ·galnga-, *bō·do-la-kâ·ynga-*, or *bō·do-chá·nag-*, } forenoon.
bō·do-chà·u-, noon.

[304] met with has borne ineffaceable marks of injuries from which the living woman has suffered during her lifetime. And this is clearly the fate of the *Miscopia* woman also."

[1] Although they are aware of the variation in the sun's position at the same hour at different seasons they do not take the fact into consideration.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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bō·do-la-lô·ringa-, from noon till 3 p.m.
bō·do-lâr-dī·yánga-, or, *elâr-di·yanga-*, } from 3 p.m. till 5 p.m. } afternoon.
dī·la-, from 5 p.m. till sunset.
bō·do-la-lô·tinga-, sunset.
elâ·kà-dàu·ya-, twilight.
elâr-yī·tinga-, after dark till midnight.
gū·rug-chàu-, midnight.

2. Of the property of the sun-dial they possess no knowledge, nor can they indicate short intervals of time, such as fractions of an hour, save by some such vague term as—"wait a little" (*tô·laba!*), "it will soon be finished" (*kan·ya!*), "it is close at hand" (*ıwai lag·iba!*).

3. As they have no method of numeration, it of course follows that they are unable to denote the number of lunations occurring during a solar year, which with them consists of three main divisions, viz.: *pâ·par-*, the cool season; *yē·re-bō·do-*, the hot season; and *gū·mul-*, the rainy season. These again are sub-divided into twenty minor[1] seasons, named, for the most part, after various trees which, flowering at successive periods, afford the necessary sources of supply to the honey bees that are so numerous in these islands.

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4. They have distinct terms for indicating the four phases of each lunation, *i.e.*:

ō·gar-dē·reka-yabā·-, new moon (lit., moon-baby-small);
ō·gar-châ·nag-, first quarter (lit., moon-big);
ō·gar-chàu-, full moon (lit., moon-body);
ō·gar-kī·nab-, last quarter (lit., moon-thin);

and that they further recognise the influence of this luminary upon the tides may be gathered from their words denoting high and low tide at full and new moon, viz.:

ō·gar-kâ·la-,[2] high tide at the springs at full moon.
yē·char-kâ·la-,[3] high tide at the springs at new moon.
ō·gar-pâ·di-,[4] low tide at the springs at full moon.
yē·char-pâ·di-, low tide at the springs at new moon.
târbō·rong-kâ·la-, flood tide at full and new moon (in the evening) from 3 to 9 p.m.
gū·mul-kâ·la-, flood tide at full and new moon (in the morning) from 3 to 9 a.m.
el·a-bū·ngā-, or *kâ·la-bū·nga-*, flood tide.

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.
[2] Lit., moon-tide.
[3] Lit., dark-tide.
[4] *pâ·di* does not apparently occur alone, or in connection with any other word: its meaning may, therefore, be inferred from the context.

181 weakly or the helpless and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations and not lustful, indecent or indecently abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, not amenable to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring and skill though not to an European extent, and the present dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamanese, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though a deep-rooted unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the "savagery" in them however only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well, understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one has herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well expressed and correctly spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good "ayas," as their men-kind make good waiters at table.

The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jarawa tribe.

805 823 821 **Mental Capacities.**—The Andamanese divide the day by the position of the sun and can roughly divide the night, though they have no idea of steering by the sun or stars. The year is known by the three main seasons of the climate and the months rudely by the flowering and fruiting of trees of economic value to them. Tides are understood and carefully noted, a necessary accomplishment to a people largely living on shell-fish and navigating shallow tidal creeks and shores. They are aware of the connection of the phases of the moon with the tides and have names for the four phases of each lunation. They know the four quarters of the compass in reference to the daily position of the sun and have names for the four chief winds that blow (N. W., N. E., S. E., S. W.). They differentiate three kinds of clouds:—Cumulus, stratus, nimbus. The only constellation they have distinguished is Orion and they have discovered the Milky Way for which they have a name, and also call it "the way of the angels" (*marowin*, the daughter-messengers of Puluga).

576 **Social Emotions.**—The social emotions are not generally expressed. The Andamanese have no words for ordinary salutations, greeting or for expressing thanks. On meeting they stare at each other for a lengthened period in silence, which the younger breaks with a commonplace remark and then follows an eager telling of news, which an Andamanese always delights in hearing. Relatives however sit in each other's laps, huddled closely together at *meeting*, weeping loudly and demonstratively, and after a long separation this may last for hours. The Onges are less demonstrative and on such occasions shed a few silent tears only and caress each other with their hands. At *parting* they take each other by the hand and blow on it, exchanging sentences of conventional farewell.

Undemonstrative though they are, the Andamanese are readily roused to emotion, finding that difficulty in separating the real from the assumed observed

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

CHAPTER THREE

The Spirits of the Forest

487 It is only too easy to get lost in the forests, but this never happens with the Onges. They do not rely upon the 'mysterious sense of direction' which is often attributed (without adequate evidence) to primitive peoples; they have other simpler but equally effective ways of finding their way. Everywhere the Onges go they leave behind some mark. When they come to a halt in the depths of the forest, they cast around them, and soon find signs leading to some temporary shelter or communal hut.

As the Onges are out in the forest every day, there are traces of their passage everywhere. Inconspicuously broken plants, or scratches on the branches of trees are precious marks, one leading to the next and so on to the camp. Everyone takes care not to get lost, and moves carefully through the sea of vegetation, without appearing to mark their way. I have often been surprised to find myself back at the camp after innumerable twists and turns, but the [151] Onges' exceptional eyesight saved us when the situation seemed to me quite hopeless.

● 805 They were always able, too, to calculate exactly how far to go in one stage, and could invariably tell me precisely when we should arrive at a given point. They have no form of clock and work solely by the sun's position. But whatever their method, every time I asked when we should reach a certain camp, they always replied at great length: they would point with one outstretched arm to *Tenculu* the Sun and then with the other to where it would be when we arrived. The passing of days was indicated by moving an arm from east to west, saying *Tenculu – Tenculu*, to show sunrise and sunset. It was a simple matter to work out what they meant, and their answer was invariably right.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense

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805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

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532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

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412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

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[41] The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

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25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

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174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed.

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437 There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.